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First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements

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Prolonging a Calamity?

In the spring of 1912 Colonel Henry Watterson said of Woodrow Wilson:

"His nomination would be a catastrophe and his election a calamity."

The catastrophe happened, and the calamity continues. For eight years the general management of the United States has been disastrously incompetent.

The Administration has been Democratic from top to bottom. Mr. Wilson alone could not have accomplished the demoralization that has been accomplished. To bring the country to its present pass he needed the whole-hearted coöperation of his party, and his party never failed him.

Mr. Cox's campaign for the Presidency is a plea to be permitted to continue the calamity that Colonel Watterson foresaw. Mr. Cox asks for permission to take up the work of disorganization when Mr. Wilson shall lay it down. In not a single speech has Mr. Cox advanced any plan for reorganization or reconstruction. He answers proved charges of mismanagement by suggesting further mismanagement of the same sort.

Baseless charges concerning campaign funds and attacks on a nonexistent "Senate oligarchy" give no promise of getting the country out of the mess into which Mr. Wilson and the Administration have landed it.

The calamity that Colonel Watterson predicted will be prolonged by the election of Mr. Cox and the continuation of the Wilson policies. So the voters propose to end it by their ballots. This is the campaign up to date.

Choosing an International Court

The text of the Root-Phillimore plan for a permanent court of international justice shows what has been done to overcome the difficulty that wrecked the attempt of the second Hague conference to establish a similar court.

The Hague plan provided that of the fifteen judges nine were to come from nine great powers, with the remaining six chosen by the smaller states in rotation. This arrangement suited neither the large nor the small states, and the project was dropped in spite of the efforts of Senator Knox, when Secretary of State, to revive it.

The Root-Phillimore plan, as Edward S. Corwin remarks in The Weekly Review, meets the difficulty in a bold yet logical way—would have the court be a bench of judges, rather than a congress of states. It is provided that the court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law." The United States could nominate such men as Bourgeois, of France, or Drago, of the Argentine, and France could select Mr. Root.

Preceding the official election the various nations, by national groups, are to nominate for consideration two persons of any nationality. The whole list of names is then to be submitted to the council and the assembly of the League of Nations, apparently assembled in joint session, and the choice of the fifteen shall be made, each judge being chosen by a majority vote.

This complicated election method seems calculated to keep national pride within bounds. If the small nations predominate in the Assembly the large nations predominate in the Council. One may suspect that Mr. Root is the author of this part of the plan, for it suggests our Presidential Electoral College, wherein the large states have electors equal to the number of their representatives in the House of Representatives, while the small states are protected by giving all the states an elector for each Senator.

Incidentally, Mr. Root and his coworkers furnish another reason why this country should enter the league. His election plan depends on the existence of a league and its council and assembly. Moreover, without a league in some form it will perhaps be impossible to have a permanent court of international justice. The Hague experience shows that with the nations acting singly it is not easy to get them to agree concerning even the primary question of how the court is to be constituted.

Jacob H. Schiff

Jacob H. Schiff was a power in finance, a leader in philanthropy and perhaps the most influential member of the Jewish community in the United States. His activities as a banker brought him great wealth and commanding position. But his real character was better expressed in his work for others and his intense interest in the advancement of Jewish culture and the Jewish race.

Mr. Schiff had a passionate devotion for his own people. But there was no narrowness or exclusiveness in his attitude toward the rest of the world. He was a stanch American and lived up to the full demands of American citizenship. He was a promoter of good causes and a munificent giver to education and to all undertakings for the relief of suffering. He was highly honored in Wall Street. But he was also highly honored in the humble homes of the poor and oppressed of many races.

Though born and educated abroad, he quickly absorbed the American spirit and accepted the American idea of the responsibilities attaching to a large fortune. He never worked for himself alone, but made countless others sharers in his prosperity. He had a fine balance of character and the unselfish impulse which springs from a truly democratic consideration for one's fellow men. He gave without ostentation, because giving was a part of his nature. He will be deeply mourned by those who knew him and by millions to whom he was only a blessed name.

A Law Unto Himself

The President takes an oath to execute the laws. Congress passed a shipping bill at the last session and Mr. Wilson gave it his approval. His refusal now to execute it emphasizes again the purely personal and arbitrary character of his conceptions of government.

The reasons given for this refusal reveal an extraordinary capriciousness of judgment. The section of the shipping act directing the President to give notice of the termination of engagements with foreign powers which interfere with the laying of discriminatory duties on imports followed closely the language of the section of the La Follette seamen's act which directed the President to give notice of the termination of agreements inconsistent with its provisions. Mr. Wilson signed the La Follette act and modified those agreements, without, however, impairing the validity of other portions of our treaties of commerce and navigation. What he did then he declines to do now, on the ground, apparently, that the United States is under a moral obligation to prolong indefinitely its existing commercial agreements with foreign powers.

The President also suggests that the shipping act infringes his constitutional prerogatives. He vetoed the Federal budget act of the last session because of an alleged infringement, exceedingly trivial in its consequences. But he refrained from vetoing the shipping act, although a protest against the section regarding the termination of certain parts of existing agreements with other countries was made at the time by Secretary Colby.

As to the main question now raised—the inviolability of trade and navigation compacts—common sense and practice are all against the President's contention. Such treaties are not intended to be perpetual. They usually contain clauses providing for termination. Twelve South American countries and one European country have terminated such agreements with the United States by giving the stipulated one year's notice. It is incomprehensible that any breach of faith should be charged against a nation wishing to withdraw concessions which are terminable at the option of either party.

Our treaty of commerce with Great Britain, proclaimed in 1828, contains an article providing for its termination on one year's notice, at any time after 1838. Great Britain, however, subsequently accepted the reciprocity proposals contained in an act of Congress passed in 1828, and her shipping relations with us are determined by that act as well as by the treaty. Yet Congress can repeal or modify the act of 1828. The shipping bill, in fact, constitutes an indirect modification of it.

Secretary Colby's recent statement seems to be based on the contention that the United States cannot abrogate part of a treaty without abrogating the whole of it. But this argument is elusive. The Wilson Administration did abrogate parts of treaties when it enforced the La Follette seamen's act. And the Supreme Court has held that subsequent legislation by Congress can affect a treaty so far as its execution within the United States is concerned.

Mr. Wilson's refusal to apply Section 34 of the shipping act is no doubt due at once to his contempt for Congress and to his obsessions as an internationalist. He seems willing to sacrifice the new merchant marine as he has tried to sacrifice so many other American interests, to his personal policies. Happily his term is drawing to an end. After March 4 next there will be no obstacle to the recovery by the United States of full power to protect the new merchant marine through the critical first stages of its development.

The Bergdoll Movie Plot

Remarkable evidence as to the ease with which the Bergdolls managed for many months to escape arrest is being brought out at the trial in Philadelphia of their mother and various "family friends" on the charge of connivance in their evasion of the draft. Agents of the Department of Justice were supposed to be after them hot-foot, but the Bergdolls might have been *spurlos versenkt*, for all the traces of them that were found. Rumors said they had been smuggled into Canada and that they had reached Germany. All the time they were within four hours of Philadelphia, fishing, hunting and riding about the country in automobiles.

The story reads like a movie plot. Obliging go-betweens kept them supplied with money. One of these, a defendant in the present case, visited the Treasury Department, at Washington, on two separate occasions to exchange currency for gold, to the amount first of $45,000 and second of $60,000, though at the time the payment of such large sums was unusual, and the demand for them from an intimate of the Bergdoll family might well have been regarded as suspicious. Whether this money formed a part of the "pot of gold" to find which Grover Bergdoll was released by the order of the undiscovered some one higher up has not been disclosed. The keen sleuths of Mr. Palmer's force either knew nothing of the episode or thought it of no consequence.

Meanwhile the young men varied the monotony of the simple country life by visits to their home in Philadelphia—visits not so surreptitious but that they were seen by various persons—keeping up their reputation as reckless speeders. Grover was finally found hiding in a window seat, but while the Department of Justice agents were arresting him Erwin walked out through the back door. He took the road to Baltimore with his car, in which he slept all night. Apparently there was never any difficulty in supplying either of them with a car, nor were they ever held up by inquiring officials. They went to hotels and stayed there openly, with no other precaution than the use of an assumed name.

It may be that the law will now requite ungratefully the devoted help given to them by their relatives and friends. Without anticipating the issue of the trial, it may be said that something at least very like a conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice has been disclosed. But justice seemed almost pathetically eager to be defeated. And some kind heart in the War Department has nullified the capture of Grover by permitting him to begin the game of hide and seek again.

The Case of Bessarabia

The bitter controversies arising from Old World frontier settlements come, most often, from a clash of the principle of self-determination with considerations of historic right and economic-geographic necessity. The Teschen district, for example, is ethnically largely Polish, but the Czechs claimed it on historic and economic grounds.

No such complications exist in the case of Bessarabia. That fertile land between the Dniester and the Danube delta is Rumanian by historic right, by nationality and by economic interest. From the earliest times up to 1812 Bessarabia formed part of the principality of Moldavia, since 1859 united with Wallachia into the modern Rumanian kingdom. The separate position of Bessarabia was recognized by the czars, who left Rumanian civil law in force. Even czaristic statistics, notorious for their bias, admitted the Rumanians formed almost one-half (47.6 per cent, to be exact) of the population, while the number of Great Russians was put at a modest 8.2 per cent.

As a matter of fact the Rumanians number close to 70 per cent. After the Russian revolution the people of Bessarabia have declared no less than three times their overwhelming will to adhere to the Rumanian motherland. Thus in the elections of November, 1919, out of the ninety representatives chosen seventy-eight were Rumanians and twelve of other nationalities. Of the diverse racial minorities, the most advanced, the German colonists, whose ancestors settled there over one hundred years ago, choose to throw in their lot with the Rumanians.

In face of these facts the apprehension aroused in Rumania by Secretary Colby's note of August 10 is natural and appreciable. Indeed Mr. Colby's dogmatic insistence on a territorially reunited Russian Empire is reduced *ad absurdum* in the instance of Bessarabia—a province annexed by Russia just a hundred years ago, one whose Rumanian character was never denied even by Russian authorities and which repeatedly expressed its will to belong to Rumania. Historically, Russia has about as much right to hold Bessarabia as Austria has to Lombardy; ethnically Russia has less right to Bessarabia than Germany has to Slesvig. The Colby note of August 10 thus conflicts sharply with Mr. Wilson's principle of national self-determination.

Let us hope that the Rumanians understand that the present Administration's stand on the Bessarabian question does not represent the sentiment of the American people.

Calvin Coolidge Says

(From his address to the Somerville Republican City Committee, August 7, 1918.)

America must furnish more than armies and navies for the future. If armies and navies were to be supreme, Germany would be right. There are other and greater forces in the world than march to the roll of the drum. As we are turning the scale with our sword now, so hereafter we must turn the scale with the moral power of America. It must be our disinterested plans that are to restore Europe to a place through justice when we have secured victory through the sword. And into a new world we are to take not only the people of oppressed Europe but the people of America. Out of our sacrifice and suffering, out of our blood and tears, America shall have a new awakening, a rededication to the cause of Washington and Lincoln, a firmer conviction for the right.

A Cheer for Henry Ford

As a Manufacturer He Is Hailed as a Mighty Good Sport

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The editorial on Henry Ford this morning (September 24) strikes me as unjust to Mr. Ford and more or less ridiculous in its far-fetched implications anent the Administration.

Disregarding the latter, however, which are worthier of old-fashioned country journalism than of a metropolitan paper I enjoy and respect, it seems to me that Mr. Ford deserves a cheer and not a sneer for his action in cutting prices.

Whatever political and diplomatic blunders have been committed by Mr. Ford, his course as a manufacturer has been that of a mighty good sport. I believe the profit per car on Ford's output is and has been less than that on almost any other. I believe his percentage of profit per car is smaller than the average. The enormous money-making power of the Ford plant has been due to quantity production and high efficiency. A survey of his record will show always that he has absorbed his share of increased costs rather than load them all—and an extra profit—on the consumer, which has been the course of action of nearly every other manufacturer. He has played fair with the public and with his men, and has exhibited what I regard as the highest business sportsmanship. It has paid, of course; it always pays in the long run—a fact which lesser and more selfish men are too blind to see; a fact which makes Henry Ford the supermanufacturer he is.

Lay his action in slashing prices to what you will—clever advertising, vision recognition of economic facts or just plain business sense—it stands out as an indictment of the ruthless profiteering to which we have all been subject. I believe Ford is the last man who needed to make this move, either for the sake of orders or for his own conscience, because his great little car has, at its highest, never been priced exorbitantly.

That he was one of the first to strike at the whole structure of high prices seems to be laudable, and The Tribune's imputations are unfair and unworthy of itself.

As to all this stuff about closed factories, etc., The Tribune knows perfectly well, as Mr. Wood, of the American Woolen Company found out, that when factories are willing to fix prices on a basis of moderate profit, instead of consumer exploitation, they get the orders. The country needs goods and will pay for them, but it has grown weary of paying through the nose. Profiteering prosperity is a dead duck, but solid prosperity, based on fair dealing, is very much alive. Mr. Ford is working for that kind of prosperity. Why try to belittle his vision?

BERTON BRALEY.

New York, Sept. 24, 1920.

End Wilsonism, Enter a League

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: To my mind the two most important issues of the Presidential campaign (prohibition being regarded as a settled matter) are:

First—Getting rid of Wilsonism, in order that our country and the world may recover health.

Second—Our entrance into the (or a League of Nations.

Do these two issues conflict?

The Republican party, it seems to me, doesn't emphasize sufficiently the issue of foreign relations. If the Republican party leaned in this matter more decidedly toward the attitude of men like George Wickersham, George Haven Putnam and Elihu Root and less toward that of Johnson and Borah I could vote their ticket in November with a clearer conscience and more mental satisfaction.

CATHERINE B. ELY.

New York, Sept. 23, 1920.

Red Free Speech

(From The Chicago Daily News)

In the fiery lexicon of the Reds there is no such word as free speech for the other fellow. Where they are in control they suppress it by firing squads, and where they are not in control they attempt to suppress it by bombs and general terrorism.

Sabotage

(From The Manitoba Free Press)

Britain may submit the Irish question to the League of Nations. This may heighten the impression held in some quarters that the British government is not friendly toward the league.

The Conning Tower

When Knights Were Bold

Gone are the moments of diamond romance;
Slow is the heart-beat within us.
Oh for a Tinker-to-Evers-to-Chance!
And Barry-to-Collins-to-McInnis!

"A man who drove his automobile with the top down in the pouring rain—what would you call such a man?" rhetorically asks the American Chain Company, Inc. "As for me, teacher," W. W. raises his right hand, "I'd call him wet."

Mr. Werrenrath has probably more friends on the press than any other tenor in existence.—Arts and Decoration.

Perhaps, even, than any tenor.

Gotham Gleanings

—Charley Bennett of New Haven Fridayed here.

—Mrs. Sally J. Farnham is busy sculping these days.

—Ralph Hayes of Cleveland wk.-ended in our busy midst.

—F. Scott Fitzgerald and wife were in town last Tuesday.

—Raymond Fosdick was a pleasant caller Fri. noon. Come again Ray.

—Steve Wise and son Jim saw Alice Brady's show Wednesday eve'g.

—Miss Alvah Thoits Taylor of Chicago contemplates to spend Oct. in Gotham.

—Miss Edna Millay the w. k. poet has returned from Truro, Mass., and is sojourning in Gotham.

—Aleck Woollcott took a certain party to the theater Wednes. eve'g. Ah there L——a F——r!

—Hen Ford and Hen Franklin have reduced prices on the cars they sell. Both the boys have sold cars to us in their day.

—Mark S. Watson has accepted a job working for Paul Patterson as assistant m'n'g'g ed. of The Baltimore Sun.

—Sig Spaeth is in the piano business now and isn't playing much tennis. Sig says he will be glad to restring a piano for any of the boys.

Each speaker will be known by holding an American jag.—Poughkeepsie Eagle.

"Steel!" cried the proofroom, as one man.

Baseball may not be fair, but—in the American League at least—it is warmer.

THE PASSIONATE VACATIONIST

This is the end. I read the signs:
Those wonder-days, like tender vines,
Are scattered, torn by autumn showers,
And now your memory on them glowers,
That seem to me like diamond mines.

A piffled Omar, 'neath the pines,
Can best express my thoughts—divines
That sorrow which in my heart lowers,
"This is the end."

Oh, lady, now your heart opines
Why I would deep dip in the steins,
And pen these verses endless hours.
(But the Boss once said in these here Towers,
A rondeau has but fifteen lines.)
This is the end.

RAN DE RACOON.

September 13—Son to Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth M. Mayer, Box 188, R. F. D. —Albany Journal.

Mr. Burleson is doing as well as could be expected.

"Our Gus, linotype machine 3," confides Hunter, "is an athaletic young man who lives on Popular Street, Brookalyn, and hates to work on revised prooves."

YALE, '10, AND THE OLD SONGS

Sir: One who heard the famous Cairo Quartet warble "The Fatal Wedding" all over the Yale campus in the fall of 1909 remembers a pair of verses which must come before those cited by Mr. Jay House. Incidentally, the protest was made to the sexton, not the preacher, who of course was inside the church on that "cold December night," where "all was gay and bright," as the following will prove. Enter ill-fated Mother, R. U. E., to sexton.

"I'd like to be admitted, sir," she told the sexton old,
"Just for the sake of baby, to protect him from the cold."

He told her that the wedding there was for the rich and grand
And with the eager watching crowd outside she'd have to stand.

The organ, of course, pealed "in" air, not "an" air, as either Steve Marckwald, Miller Van, Pipe Strong, or Hill Greene, of the glorious class of 1901 at Yale will inform you. As for songs of the golden age of the sentimental ballad, how about "Take back your gold, for gold will never buy me," which Jim Donnelly campus cop, has to stop every Saturday night on the fence promptly at 12:30 so Billy Hunt could get some sleep over in Durfee?

NIG.

For there is no Truth that we know to be true except the Truth that is Done.—Dr. Frank Crane.

And there is no Lie that we know to be false except the lie that is none.
For nothing is truer than Truth is true, and naught so false as a Lie.
And this is a pipe to spill ad lib, which nobody can deny.

With jocund heart we read of the cuts in prices, and made for a shop in whose window hung a necktie we coveted. But it still was $5.50, excluding the amusement tax, and our Puritan upbringing counted the purchase a Sin; so we left the shop, wondering whether hair shirts were as cheap as ever.

In spite of the fall in prices, The Conning Tower will not reduce the rate of pay to contribs. No panic, no boom, shall force us to change our non-participating policy.

With fewer houses, less coal will be used. Why, then, little pupils, will coal cost more next winter?

Anxiety as to the housing problem prevails also, Harry believes, at Castle, Okla., and Flats, W. Va.

Harding or Cox? Harding or Cox? I think that the Indians'll love to the Fox.

F. P. A.

How Japan Got Shantung

A New Explanation of President Wilson's Sudden Reversal of His Far Eastern Policy at the Paris Peace Conference in April, 1919

By Patrick Gallagher

(From America's Aims and Asia's Aspirations, Published by The Century Co.)

Every word uttered, every gesture made by the President in the Villa of Bischoffen on the afternoon of April 22 justified the Chinese in believing that the President was with them to the last ditch. The Japanese were not present. They had been heard that forenoon. Both Chinese and Japanese read the President's Adriatic pronouncement with the deepest interest. . . . The Chinese were jubilant. I sat with Dr. Wang and we read over the statement, sentence by sentence. I met a member of the Japanese delegation and he admitted to me that particularly remembering Wilson's words in presenting the draft covenant at the plenary on February 14, it looked as if President Wilson was determined to secure assent to the Chinese claims. That night Mr. Wilson's fame and his power climbed higher than those of any other man in the world's history. He was the Paris conference. . . .

Now it is curious upon what droll circumstances great historic happenings are ofttimes built. I am afraid that I have been very serious, very dreary, in trying to unravel the tangled skein of the Paris conference. So let us all laugh, as the Japanese laughed on the night of April 30.

On the forenoon of April 24, a young Japanese newspaper man of no importance (and with less knowledge of what was actually happening at Japanese headquarters, the Hotel Bristol, than some of his American conferees) typhooned into 4, Place de la Concorde, and whispered the news to one of the most admittedly brilliant American special correspondents: "The Japanese delegation is packing up." The great American reporter whisked his Japanese friend away from the press-room and together they hurried to the Hotel Bristol, where, surely enough, they found boxes and boxes, and trunks and trunks and more trunks, piled one upon the other in the hotel courtyard.

Moving silently and stealthily, like melodramatic villains, the representatives of East and West fourth estate sallied forth once more. This time their destination was the Hotel Meurice, where Marquis Saionji, Baron Makino and Mr. Ijuin had their suites. Again, Japanese trunks and more trunks, Japanese boxes and more boxes, great crates of the marquis's favorite fish plucked from the placid waters of Lake Chusendji and dried according to a special and ancient recipe; handsome steamer trunks with brass and rawhide knobs; trunks to the right and trunks to the left; and bellhops and valets scurrying hither and yon. The bright reporters rushed to the Bourse and the news was flashed all over the world that the Japanese delegation was packing up; that Mr. Ijuin, the Japanese Ambassador at Rome, had called upon Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, and pledged Japan's support to the Italian Adriatic position; that the conference was collapsing, because Wilson would not give Italy Fiume, or Japan Kiaochau, or, acknowledge the racial and national equality of the Japanese.

Within the same hour, Mr. Odagiri, the famous Japanese banker, mentioned casually to Thomas W. Lamont that there was more than one side to the Chinese consortium plans being pushed by the American government and that it would be difficult for the Japanese to come in if the Japanese should leave the peace conference defeated on all points. Upon the same day Lord Robert Cecil told Colonel House that, while Baron Makino was loyally eager to aid a league of nations, it was becoming increasingly difficult to assure Japanese support on account of the general attitude of the conference toward Japan. A few minutes later Colonel House learned about the trunks and the boxes and the expected exodus of the Japanese delegation from Paris. He got in touch with the President at once. Somebody confirmed the wild rumors. The President immediately reversed himself in the matter of Kiaochau, shut himself away from his Far Eastern advisers and the Chinese and assented to Baron Makino's solution. I am in a position to know that the Japanese conceded nothing, nor did they bargain their racial amendment for the Shantung articles. They won upon their own terms and upon facts. Mr. Wilson lost all the tricks, upon silly gossip.

The trunks and boxes at the Hotel Bristol and the Hotel Meurice were piled one upon the other in preparation for transfer to the magnificent villa at 50 Rue de Bassano, that had just been leased for the Marquis Saionji.

The marquis was not moving out. He was moving in.

What the Farmer Needs

A Better Marketing System His Chief Concern

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I have been very much interested in the editorials and letters appearing in your paper from time to time about agriculture, and I wish to thank you, as a farmer, for your rather unusual courage in stating the facts and in presenting them so lucidly. Perusal of other metropolitan dailies leads me to think that it does take unusual courage to print anything which will lead the vast numbers of city consumers to see that the farmers are not making fortunes in growing and selling food. Why these journals should feel that their interests lie either in ignoring the farmer as a necessary part of society or in distorting the facts to present a picture of farm prosperity which is laughable to a farmer I cannot understand. As a matter of fact, their interests, as well as their readers' interests, are identical with the farmers' interests.

If this country can show comfortable, prosperous, contented farm owners in the aggregate such silly theories as Bolshevism stand no show whatever. If, on the other hand, it snows overworked, underpaid, uncomfortable farmers in the aggregate, we are on dangerous ground.

It seems to me we farmers, as a whole, are a hard-working, conservative class, with our share of brains and our share of humor. It seems to me we are not easily led astray and that we are seldom hysterical. But we want to feel that those who constitute our government, and those who operate our railroads, and those who disseminate our news and those who consume our products are interested in our problems and that they see those problems clearly, for our problems touch these people more closely than they themselves will admit.

Now, most newspapers see the situation clearly enough, but are not candid in presenting the facts. The government must see the facts, but is singularly reticent about endeavoring to remedy conditions. Let's be honest about two things, at least:

1. Farming has been an unprofitable business since the advent of the machine. How many millionaires has farming produced? How many have made as much as $25,000 from the sale of farm produce, exclusive of any rise in real estate values? How many farmers pay an income tax? Why does one suppose that thousands upon thousands have been leaving our farms if farming is profitable?

2. Farming has been unprofitable because there have been too many farmers in proportion to the number of people to be fed and because the farmer has no way of marketing his crops except through a chain of middlemen, who beat him down uncomfortably and urge the consumer up uncomfortably. The consumer and the farmer both are uncomfortable today because of a totally obsolete and inefficient marketing system.

The reason we have had too many farmers is because we need about one-fifth as many to feed the country with the use of machinery as we needed when it all had to be done by hand. We have just now reached the point of balance after thirty years of readjustment.

The reason we have no better marketing system is because a large amount of highly organized capital invested in the distributing business has succeeded in convincing the government and most of the newspapers (I am not alluding to The Tribune) to consider the safety of their capital to be worth more than the safety of a much larger amount of highly disorganized capital invested in farming. The farmer demands that the government and the public hear his request for better marketing conditions. He wants to obtain better marketing facilities with as little friction as possible. He believes this government the best on earth when piloted by able men. But in Dakota he virtually has had to take over the state government to obtain better marketing. The farmer still believes his government is flexible enough to help him solve his problems. He is willing to wait peaceably. But he is looking forward to the coming election with hope—and apprehension.

EDWARD MOSEMAN.

West Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 19, 1920.

Fanatics in India

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: It is grievously unfortunate that the Indian Information Bureau, under Dr. Hardikar's direction, should be allowed, without contradiction, to dole out garbled and exaggerated reports about Indian conditions.

Nobody with a particle of imagination would believe for a moment that the two hundred and fifty millions of British India had marked their protest against the welcome to the Prince of Wales. The opposition to his royal highness's reception is confined to a small number of the fanatical Muslims of India in large towns and cities, of which there are very few in the country, egged on, as they are, by the miscroscopic minority of educated Indians who compose the extremist party of Indian politics. A very strong repugnance to their unholy tactics has already been expressed throughout the country. Sober men and women of India are beginning to realize that the extremists are playing with fire, which may end in disaster.

I have no doubt that the whole movement of non-coöperation will fizzle out, just as the Indian Muslim migration into Afghanistan has ended in a fiasco.

We love our King-Emperor and his heir apparent, and the whole of India will give the Prince of Wales a welcome the like of which he has not received in any other part of the British Empire.

RUSTOM RUSTOMJEE, per G. L. Former editor Oriental Review, Bombay, India.

Boston, Mass., Sept. 17, 1920.

A Harder Job

(From The Baltimore Sun)

Now that they have learned to make a gasoline substitute from straw, some genius may yet discover a way to make straw votes of value.

Out of Luck

(From The Charleston News-Courier)

Italy just now is hardly to be envied. She is suffering from two of the worst plagues known to man—earthquakes and Bolshevism.

Justice and the Poor

Proper Defense Is a Right, Not a Charity

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Ex-Judge Charles E. Hughes is reported in the press to have said at the recent annual convention of the American Bar Association, in St. Louis:

"There is no more serious menace than the discontent which is fostered by a belief that one cannot enforce his legal rights because of poverty. To spread that notion is to open the broad road to Bolshevism."

It is important to inquire whether or not this "discontent" is well founded. That there has been a constantly growing dissatisfaction with the administration of justice—particularly in the criminal courts—is beyond question. The status of the poor man in the courts has been the subject of constant criticism and attack by distinguished judges, lawyers and sociologists, as a result of which public defender legislation has been passed in numerous jurisdictions and voluntary defenders' committees and other remedial agencies have either been established or planned.

The subject of "Justice and the Poor" has been and now is engaging the attention of our bar associations and criminal courts committees, with a view to prevent any discrimination against a litigant because of poverty.

If, therefore, the "discontent" referred to by Judge Hughes is justified by existing conditions, the "menace" is not in calling public attention to the facts, but rather in the attempt to minimize and gloss them over. Denials of justice to the poor are a greater menace to the state than are the protests of those seeking the appropriate remedy through orderly, legal processes.

Judge Hughes himself further emphasizes the poor man's problem with reference to legal aid. He stated that the Legal Aid Society of New York (a philanthropic organization) gave advice to 34,000 applicants last year, and that had it not been for this bureau "the majority of the persons probably would have gone without proper legal counsel," and he further urged that "free legal advice be given in criminal as well as in civil cases," thus recognizing the necessity for better protecting the rights of indigent accused persons. Surely these comments from this distinguished jurist are significant of the fact that the "discontent" which he referred to is not wholly imaginary.

The state should guarantee justice to all of its citizens. Neither legal aid societies, voluntary defenders' organizations nor other charitable agencies will solve the problem of justice to the poor. These are at best merely temporary expedients. Defense is a right, not a charity.

The spectacle of a powerful, official and able prosecution on the one hand and of a defense maintained through the favor of a charitable legal aid bureau on the other hand is abhorrent to the sense of fair play.

"Equality before the law" does not contemplate philanthropic intervention. The state must protect the innocent as well as punish the guilty. The need for a public defender as the logical solution of the question is daily becoming more apparent.

MAYER C. GOLDMAN.

New York, Sept. 22, 1920.

Idealistic Starvation

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The League of Nations seems to be built on the theory that if you make your threats savage enough nobody will ever dare defy them, and then you will never have to do anything savage. At least it is largely defended on that theory. The threat against a recalcitrant state is what President Wilson in his Indianapolis speech so impressively described as the "deadly" and "terrible" squeeze of the universal economic boycott (though the President failed to specify wherein it was most deadly and terrible, for he did not remind us that, as we all know by this time, it means the starvation of the babies of the boycotted nation, if that is a food importing nation), and the defenders of the league everywhere assume that so long as we do not pledge ourselves to send soldiers it is quite right and gentle that we pledge ourselves invariably to join in applying this boycott with all strictness.

Now, this idea, that we bind ourselves to make war by starvation, whether we make war with guns or not, would not be upheld as a praiseworthy plan by so many high-minded idealists if they did not think that the savageness of the threat would make it unnecessary ever to carry it out. This is a very common idea among beginners in penology, such as inexperienced parents and inexperienced teachers. Experience, I believe, shows it false; experience shows that the severest threats are not the most certain of effect. Experience bids us believe that if we threaten to starve the babies the time will come when we shall be called on to starve them or else back down.

Another objection to the boycott plan is that its pressure is so unequal on different nations. The boycott would mean starvation to France or Holland; to Russia or Mexico it would not.

Governor Cox is not discussing all this, is he?

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Mass., Sept. 17, 1920.

A Commuter With a Grouch

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: What is the matter with the Lackawanna Railroad's commutation service? Is this railroad trying to surpass the Erie in its irregularity of train service? Certainly it seems to be impossible for commuters' trains to arrive and depart on time.

COMMUTER.

New York, Sept. 19, 1920.

The Unknown Quantity

(From The Chicago Daily News)

Illicit liquors certainly complicate the troubles of the police. In the old days a trained policeman could estimate with some degree of accuracy the probable effect of an ordinary whisky drunk, but when a man has filled himself with a combination of hair oil, wood alcohol and lemon extract there is no telling what will happen.